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Cavineña "associated motion" suffixes: their meanings and discourse function

1 Cavineña: some background

The language and its speakers:
Northern Bolivia, Amazon Basin
Tacanan family: Araona, Cavineña, Ese Ejja, Reyesano, Tacana
Macro Pano-Tacanan family hypothesis: (Key 1968, Girard 1971)
Approx. 1000 ~ 1200 fluent speakers, some children still learn it

Original context of the study:
Doctoral dissertation at the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology
(La Trobe University, Australia) between 2000-2004
Writing of a descriptive grammar of the language (Guillaume 2004),
revised and published as Guillaume (2008)

The corpus :
- 15 months of fieldwork (6 fieldtrips) between 1996 et 2003 (in the town of Riberalta and 2 traditional communities)
- 60 texts and conversations recorded, transcribed and translated
- 20 texts written directly by speakers
- sentences obtained through controled settings
- sentences overheard during participant observation
- non-religious texts published by Camp et Liccardi (SIL missionaries)
- sentences that illustrate the entries of Camp et Liccardi's (1989) dictionary

Basic clause structure:
- case marking + pronominal clitics in 2nd position; ergative pattern (S=O≠A)

(1)   a. [Tuke tupuju] =tu **iba** tsajaja-chine.
         3SG FOLLOWING =3SG jaguar run-REC.PAST

         'The jaguar chased him (lit. ran following him).' sg010

    b. **Iba**=ra =tu iye-chine **takure**.
        jaguar=ERG =3SG kill-REC.PAST chicken

        'The jaguar killed the chicken.' n1.0227

- minimal verb: root + TAM inflection
- polysynthetic & agglutinative: noun incorporation + numerous non-inflectional affixes possible between root and TAM inflection (aspect, manner, modality, posture, **motion**, valency-changing, etc.)

2   The system of "associated motion"

• paradigm of eleven mutually exclusive verbal suffixes (see Appendix)
• function: associate a "motion" component to the event expressed by the verb stem they are attached to

(2)   a. Tudya   =ekwana   ba-**ti**-kware   takure.
            then   =1PL   see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST   chicken

            'Then we went to see the chicken (in the back of the bus).' ga034

         b. Jadya=tibu=dya   =mikwana   ba-**na**-wa…
            thus=REASON=FOC   =2PL   see-COME.TEMP-PERF

            'This is why I have come to see you (here in your village).' T1.69

• fascinating topic that immediately draws the attention of the investigator
• earliest description by Camp (1982)
• three articles by Guillaume (2000, 2006a, in press) + a lengthy section in Guillaume (2004), fully revised in Guillaume (2008: 212-236)
• not yet fully understood. Work in progress.

2.1   Typological perspective

• correspond to   "**associated motion**" in Australian languages (Wilkins 1991, 2006)
• different from   Mayan **directionals** (Haviland 1991, 1993, Craig 1994)
                            Papuan **directionals/elevationals** (Foley 1986: 148-52)
                            English **path particles** (e.g., in, out, away, up, down, etc.)
                            German, Latin, Russian **verb prefixes** (Talmy 2007: 141-146)

• "associated motion" markers encode **motion and path** while directionals only encode **path**.[1]

• **directional** markers can only specify the path of a motion that is already present in the verb stem event they are attached to. Directional markers are restricted to motion verbs

(3)   motion verbs (English)

        *move **out***
        *run **away***
        *push O **in***
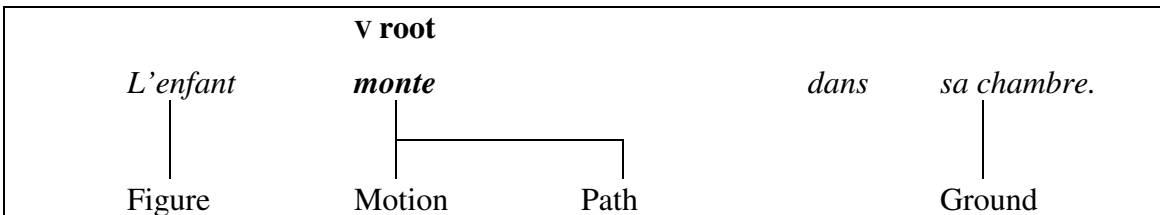   *throw O **away***
        etc.

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[1] Following Talmy (1985, 2000, 2007), **motion** (here "translational" motion, as opposed to "self-contained" motion) refers to the spatiotemporal displacement of an entity (or **figure**) vis-à-vis a **ground** object, from a **source** (origin) to a **target** (goal, endpoint). **Path** concerns the specification of the course followed by the figure during its displacement with regards to different landmarks, e.g., vis-à-vis the deictic center (towards vs. away from), vis-à-vis an enclosure (in vs. out), vis-à-vis the vertical axis (up vs. down), etc.

- "associated motion" markers associate a motion component to a verb stem event, regardless of whether this event already involves motion or not. "Associated motion" markers can be attached to all sorts of verbs:
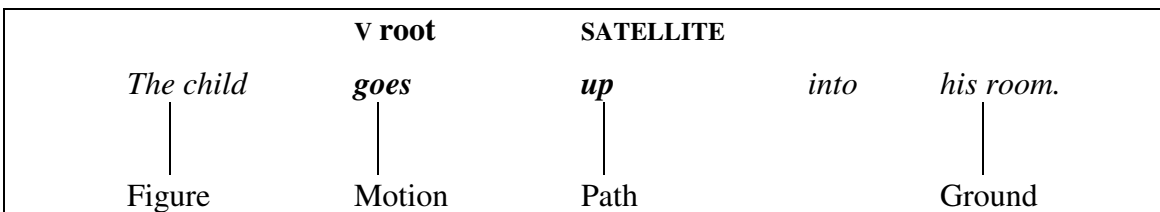
(4)   (non-deictic) motion verbs   non-motion verbs

*nubi-**ti**-*	'go and enter'	*nawi-**ti**-*	'go and bathe'
*warere-**ti**-*	'go and turn'	*wira-**ti**-*	'go and pee'
*isha-**ti**-*	'go and insert O'	*tawi-**ti**-*	'go and sleep'
*abu-**ti**-*	'go and carry O'	*ba-**ti**-*	'go and see O'
*wesa-**ti**-*	'go and lift O'	*isara-**ti**-*	'go and greet O'
etc.		*ara-**ti**-*	'go and eat O'
			etc.

- "associated motion" markers not discussed in the general typological literature

- unlike for directional systems, <u>"Talmy's "verb-framed / satellite-framed" framework not applicable</u> for "associated motion" systems because it only accounts for motion events involving motion verbs
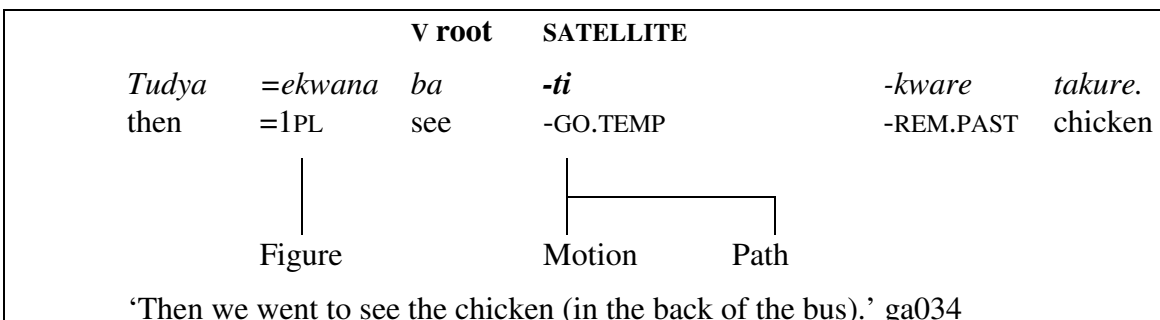
(5)   French motion + path verbs — verb framed

	V root			
L'enfant	***monte***		*dans*	*sa chambre.*
Figure	Motion	Path		Ground

(6)   English path particles — satellite framed

	V root	**SATELLITE**		
The child	***goes***	***up***	*into*	*his room.*
Figure	Motion	Path		Ground

(2)   Cavineña "associated motion" — ???

			V root	**SATELLITE**			
Tudya	*=ekwana*	*ba*	***-ti***		*-kware*	*takure.*
then	=1PL	see	-GO.TEMP		-REM.PAST	chicken
	Figure		Motion	Path			

'Then we went to see the chicken (in the back of the bus).' ga034

• "**associated motion**" markers typically grammaticalize from verbs

Table 1. **Correspondences between motion suffixes and motion verbs in Cavineña**

Suffixes		Independent verbs	
-ti / -nati	'GO.TEMP'	*kwa*	'go temporarily'
-na	'COME.TEMP'	*je*	'come temporarily'
-diru	'GO.PERM'	***diru***	'go permanently'
-eti	'COME.PERM'	***jeti***	'come permanently'
-kena	'LEAVE'	?	
-aje	'GO.DISTR'	***aje***	'walk'
-be	'COME.TEMP.DISTR'	***be*** (?)	'bring'
-etibe	'COME.PERM.DISTR'	?	
-tsa	'COME(O)'	?	
-dadi	'GO(O)'	***dadi*** (?)	'find'

• but: "associated motion" markers are not verbs anymore !
    => we are not talking about verb compounding/serialization (at least synchronically)

• "associated motion" markers are very frequent in Amerindian languages, reported under various names, including the misleading term "directional":

    North: Atsugewi (Hokan, California, Talmy 1985, 2007)
    Meso: Olutec (Mixe-zoquean, Mexico, Zavala 2000)
                Oaxaca Chontal (Isolate, Mexico, O'Connor 2007)
    South: Asheninca (Arawak, Peru, J. Payne 1982)
                Cavineña (Tacanan, Bolivia)
                Matses (Panoan, Peru, Fleck 2003: 364)
                Reyesano (Tacanan, Bolivia, Guillaume 2006b)
                Yagua (Peba-Yagua, Peru, T. Payne 1984, Payne & Payne 396-398)
                and many others…

• "associated motion" markers in other areas of the world:
    Central Australia (Koch 1984, Tunbridge 1988, Wilkins 1991, 2006, Nordlinger 2001)
    Chadic languages of Africa (Parson 1960/61, Frajzyngier 1993 and p.c.)

2.2   Semantics of "associated motion" markers in Cavineña (Cf. Appendix)

System semantically particularly complex, that involves:
1 — the figure (moving entity): subject (S/A) or object (O) argument;
2 — the manner of realization of the verb stem event: punctual or distributed;
3 — the orientation of the motion : 'towards' or 'away from' a reference point;
4 — the "stability" of the motion target: temporary or permanent;
5 — the location of the verb stem event vis-à-vis the target or the source of the motion: 'move and V' or 'V while moving' or 'V and move'

3 S/A-related motion suffixes - punctual verb stem event

Table 2. S/A-related motion suffixes - punctual realization

-ti/-nati	'GO.TEMP'
-diru	'GO.PERM'
-na	'COME.TEMP'
-eti	'COME.PERM'
-kena	'LEAVE'

Semantic constrasts:
- (1) orientation of the motion (§3.1)
- (2) "stability" of the location that is targeted by the motion (§3.2)
- (3) location of the verb stem event vis-à-vis the target or the source of the motion (§3.3)

3.1 Orientation of the motion

• specify a motion that is deictically oriented, i.e., directed either away from or towards the deictic center (DC)

-ti, *-nati*, *-diru*	motion away from the DC
-na, *-eti*	motion towards DC

• DC is the location of the speaker at the time of speech

(7)   a. Kwa-kwe AltoIvon=ju! Ba-**ti**-kwe tu-wa Chakubu=kwana!
       go-IMP.SG AltoIvón=LOC see-GO.TEMP-IMP.SG there-LOC Chácobo.person=PL

       'Go to Alto Ivón! Go and meet (lit. see) the Chácobo people there!' pa002

    b. Ita [jeeke bicho] ba-**na**-kwe!
       ATT.GETTER this beast see-COME.TEMP-IMP.SG

       'Come and see this beast!' ij012

3.2 "Stability" of the targeted location

• the motion targets different kinds of locations in terms of their "stability"

-ti, *-nati*, *-na*	motion targets "unstable" (temporary) locations
-diru, *-eti*	motion targets "stable" (permanent) locations

• compare (7a) and (7b) ("unstable" locations) with (8a) and (8b) ("stable" locations)

(8)   a. Jadya=eke =tuna tu-wa ani-**diru**-wa [ekwana-ja iyakwa epu=ju].
       thus=PERL =3PL there-LOC sit-GO.PERM-PERF 1PL-GEN now village=LOC

       'This is why they (our Cavineña ancestors) have settled (lit. gone to sit) there, where our village is now.' hs047

b. Ba-**eti**-kware   =tu-ra   =Ø   amena ike ari-ari.
   see-COME.PERM-REM.PAST   =3SG-ERG =1SG BM   1SG big-REDUP

'(When my older brother returned back home, after many years), he saw me much bigger (than at the time he had left).' nk054

3.3 Location of the verb stem event vis-à-vis the source and/or the target of the motion

• specification of where the verb stem event takes place vis-à-vis the source and/or the target of the motion.

-ti   verb stem event takes place at the target of the motion
        => 'go and/to V, arrive and V, V while arriving'

-nati   verb stem event takes place between the source and the target of the motion
        => 'V while going, V on the way'

-kena the verb stem event takes place at the source of the motion
        => 'V and move, V while leaving'

• *-ti* versus *-nati*:

(9)   a. Verb stem event at target of motion

… kwa-kware   ike   bei=ju   wikamutya=ra.
   go-REM.PAST   1SG   lake=LOC   fish=PURP.MOT

Tu-wa   =tuke =Ø   ba-**ti**-kware   [peadya   rau]…
there-LOC =3SG =1SG   see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST   one   egret

'… I went fishing at the lake. Arriving there, I saw an egret…' sl012-013

b. Verb stem event between source and target of motion

[Jukuri turu   ebari] =tuke =Ø   mee=ju   ba-**nati**-kware.
coati   big.male big   =3SG =1SG   saltlick=LOC   see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

'While I was going (to see my family,) I saw a big male coati in a saltlick.' mj119

• *-kena*

(10)   a. Pa-**kena**-kware   [Rosa   tu-ja   familia   shana-ya=ke].
        cry-LEAVE-REM.PAST   Rosa   3SG-GEN   family   leave-IMPFV=LIG

'Rosa cried as she was leaving her family.' n2.0887

b. [Refresco=kamadya]   =tuke =Ø   iji-**kena**-wa.
   soft.drink=RESTR   =3SG =1SG   drink-LEAVE-PERF

'I just had a soft-drink as I was leaving (my house).' lv033

-na, *-diru*, *-eti*	verb stem event takes place either at the target of the motion or between the source and the target of the motion
	=> 'go and/to V, arrive and V, V while arriving' or,
	=> 'V while going, V on the way'

• illustration with *-eti* 'COME.PERM':

(11)   Verb stem event at target of motion

    a. … jamani   amena   ani-**eti**-wa   tu-wa.
         vulture   BM   sit-COME.PERM-PERF   there-LOC

    '(Seeing me like dead,) the vulture came and sat there (in order to eat me).' sd055

    b. … [bakwa=ja   kapana]   [armario dyake]   iya-**eti**-kware…
         viper=GEN   bell   cupboard ON   put-COME.PERM-REM.PAST

    '… arriving (home,) he put the rattle (lit. bell) of the rattlesnake (lit. viper) on top of a cupboard.' vi030

(12)   Verb stem event between source and target of motion

    a. Tudya ekatse   tawi-**eti**-kware   [e-diji   patyapatya].
       then   3DL   sleep-COME.PERM-REM.PAST   NPF-path   IN.MIDDLE.OF

    'They slept midway along the path.' ts007

    b. Tudya   =tu   jeti-nuka-ya=ke   ba-**eti**-kware   e-kike=ju
       then   =3SG   come-REITR-IMPFV=LIG   see-COME.PERM-REM.PAST NPF-forest=LOC

      [tumeke   bakwa   cascabel].
      that   viper   rattlesnake

    'Then, as he was coming back home (from delivering goods to his nephews at the school center), he saw that rattlesnake (lit. viper) in the forest.' vi005

4   S/A-related motion suffixes - distributed verb stem event

• punctual versus distributed

- punctual: verb stem event takes place only once in a particular location somewhere along a motion path, either at the source, or at the target, or in between

- distributed: verb stem event is distributed (or realized continuously) between the source and the target of the motion.

Table 3. **S/A-related motion suffixes - distributed realization**

-aje	'GO.DISTR'
-be	'COME.TEMP.DISTR'
-etibe	'COME.PERM.DISTR'

• contrasting *-nati* (punctual) and *-aje* (distributed)

(13)   a. Kwa-baka-nuka-tsu =pa   =tu   ba-**aje**-kware
             go-SHORT-REITR-SS =REP   =3SG   see-GO.DISTR-PAST

             [kwanubi=kwana=ja e-mekware].
             animal=PL=GEN   NPF-trace

             'He kept going and soon started to see traces of animals.' se029

        b. [Yawa   pupi-da=ju]   =pa
            ground   clean-ASF(=LIG)=LOC =REP

             [kwanubi=kwana=ja e-tsau=kwana]   ba-**nati**-wa.
             animal=PL=GEN   NPF-bone=PL   see-GO.TEMP-PERF

             '(Then, after going a bit further, he ended up in a clearing and there,) on the clean ground, he saw the bones of animals.' se030c

• distributed or continuous

(14)   distributed

             [Ike   mia-keja   je-ya=ke]   neti-**be**-wa.
             1SG   2SG-ALL   come-IMPFV=LIG   stand-COME.TEMP.DISTR-PERF

             'As I was coming to you, I had to stop (lit. stand) many times on the way (to do various things. So this is why I am late).' n3.0497

(15)   continuous

             Jadya =tu   amena   ara-**be**-kware   e-ra.
             thus   =3SG   BM   eat-COME.TEMP.DISTR-REM.PAST   1SG-ERG

             'So I was coming and eating (motacú nuts) along the way.' mp029

4.1 Orientation of the motion

-aje	motion away from the DC
-be, *-etibe*	motion towards DC

(16)   Tudya   diru-baka-tsu   kike-tere**-aje**-kware   maju-diru=ishu.
        then   go-SHORT-SS   shout-COMP-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST   die-GO.PERM=PURP.GNL

'Then, he (the jaguar I had shot) went away a short distance, screaming with pain intermittently before he died.' mt012

(17)   Nereka-da   [e-kwe   e-bakujuna]   tsajaja**-be**-ya.
        miserable-ASF   1SG-GEN   1-daughter   run-COME.TEMP.DISTR-IMPFV

'My daughter was coming back to me, running now and then, miserably (through the terrible pampa path, in order to meet me back).' ka018

4.2 "Stability" of the targeted location

-be	motion targets "unstable" (temporary) locations
-etibe	motion targets "stable" (permanent) locations
-aje	unspecified

• compare *-be* in (17) with *-etibe* in (18)

(18)   E-diji=ju   ike   jara**-etibe**-chine.
        NPF-path=LOC   1SG   lie-COME.PERM.DISTR-REC.PAST

'I lay on the path many times on my way back home (because I had a strong fever).' pf079

5 O-related motion suffixes

• Figure is O argument

Table 4. **O-related motion suffixes**

-tsa	'COME(O)'
-dadi	'GO(O)'

These two suffixes have the following semantic and distributional characteristics:

1 — they are only used with transitive verbs;
2 — the orientation of the motion is not deictic: the reference point is the location of the A argument, regardless of the location of the speaker;
3 — the verb stem event is realized punctually;
4 — there is no distinction in terms of the "stability" of the targeted location nor in terms of the location of the verb stem event vis-à-vis the source or the target of the motion.

(19) a. Tume =pa =taa =tu-ja =tu
 then =REP =EMPH =3SG-DAT=3SG

 ba-**tsa**-ya ekwita…
 see-COME(O)-IMPFV person

 'Then he_i saw a man coming towards him_i.' cp013a

 b. [Peadya ekwita] =tuke =Ø ba-**dadi**-wa…
 one person =3SG =1SG see-GO(O)-PERF

 'I saw a man going away from me (with the duck he had stolen).' ju008

• additional examples:

(20) a. [E-kwe e-bakujuna=ekana=ra] =Ø
 1SG-GEN 1-daughter=PL=ERG =1SG

 dunu-**tsa**-chine=dya.
 surround-COME(O)-REC.PAST=FOC

 (When I arrived home after a long journey,) my daughters surrounded me.' ka541

 b. … tyuwi=ju buka=ra mada karu-**dadi**-kware.
 nape=LOC furet=ERG agouti bite-GO(O)-REM.PAST

 '(From the top of a tree, I was observing a furet chasing an agouti. I saw) the furet bit the agouti on the nape (from behind).' ms020

6 Discourse function of "associated motion" markers

• "echo" phenomenon with semantically corresponding independent verbs of motion in the same sentence or contiguous sentences

    (9a)   I **went** to fish. I saw-**GO** an egret.
    (12b)   As he was **coming back** home, he saw-**COME** that rattlesnake.
    (13a)   He kept **going** and soon started to see-**GO** traces of animals.
    (14)   As I was **coming** to you, I had to stop-**COME** many times on the way.
    (16)   The jaguar **went away** a short distance, screaming-**GO** with pain before he died-**GO**.

• the same phenomenon was noted in Central Australian languages by Wilkins (1991), who interprete it as a device for **foregrounding** the verb stem event.

> "[I]t is **not the main function of 'associated motion' forms to present and elaborate information about a motion event**. Just as tense [...] functions to locate events within the flow of time, the category of 'associated motion' functions to **locate events within the flow of space**." (p. 251)

• Payne's (1984) study of "locational markers" in Yagua (Peba-Yagua, Peru):
    => "**discourse structuring device**"
    "texts can have a locational structure, ie. a potentially hierarchical text structure based on locational relations between various units (like logical and temporal relations)" (p. 167)
    "locational scenes are spatially defined areas of attention, parallel to scenes in drama, i.e., the subunits of a play normally bounded by a lowering and subsequent raising of the curtain." (p. 162)
    "[Yagua has] morphological signals of scene changes in story-telling process" (p. 164)
    "great importance of orienting any text in space"

• Illustration in Cavineña: Story of Mr. Crisanto and the Rattlesnake

7 Conclusions

• category of "associated motion" ≠ from better known category of "directional"
• absent from general typological work but not rare cross-linguistically
• primarily a discourse category: spatial orientation of events vis-à-vis each others
• Cavineña "associated motion" system particularly developped

Story of Mr. Crisanto and the Rattlesnake (Cavineña)

(1) Mr. Crisanto had three nephews who were studying in a remote school. vi001-003
(2) One day he **went** to the school to bring them food. vi004

SCENE 1: THE FOREST

(3) As he was **coming back** home, he saw-**COME** a rattlesnake, in the forest. vi005
(4) The rattlesnake almost bit him. vi006
(5) Then Mr. Crisanto cut a stick and killed the snake. vi007-009

SCENE 2: THE EDGE OF THE PAMPA

(6) Then, as he was **coming back** again, he saw-**COME** another snake, at the edge of the pampa. vi010
(7) The same thing happened: the snake almost bit him. vi011

SCENE 3: NEAR THE RATTLESNAKE

(8) This time, Mr. Crisanto, approached-**GO** the rattlesnake, cut-**GO** its rattle with a knife, took-**GO** the bell with him and left the snake in the path. vi012-014

SCENE 4: A WOOD IN THE PAMPA

(9) Then, he kept **coming back,** (stopped) and slept-**COME** (for the night) in a wood of the pampa. vi015
(10) His house was far away from the school. vi016
(11) As dawn was breaking he heard the noise of leaves moving. vi017
(12) He looked carefully around him and saw a rattlesnake who was turning around his mosquito net. vi018-19
(13) He immediately jumped out of his mosquito net, got ready and left the rattlesnake. vi020-21-22

SCENE 5: A LOG

(14) And he kept **coming back**. He **came back** a short distance and (stopped and) ate-**COME** his food on top of a log. (As he was doing so,) he saw-**COME(O)** again a rattlesnake who was **going** in the path. vi024
(15) He was really surprised and left it again. vi023-27

SCENE 6: THE HOME OF MR. CRISANTO

(16) He kept **going** toward his house. Then he arrived (lit. was-**COME**) at his house. vi028-29
(17) Then he put-**COME** the rattlesnake's bell on top of a cupboard, having tightly tied it inside a piece of clothe. vi030
(18) Then he went to sleep. vi031

(19) His house was in good shape. There was no way a snake could enter it. But when he woke up, he saw the damn rattlesnake lying underneath the cupboard! vi032-033

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9 Abbreviations

=	clitic boundary
( )	material that does not appear on the surface (used in the glossing line)
[ ]	multiple-word constituent
A	transitive subject
ABIL	abilitative
ADVERS	adversative
AFFTN	affection
ALWS	always
ANTIPASS	antipassive
APPROX	approximative
ASF	(dummy) adjective suffix
ASSOC	associative
ATT.GETTER	attention getter
AUGM	augmentative
CAUS	causative
CAUS.INVLT	causative of involvement
CC	copula complement
COMP	completive
CONDIT	conditional
CONTR	contrastive
CONT.EVID	contrary to evidence
DAT	dative
DC	deictic center
DESID	desiderative
DIM	diminutive
DISEMPH	disemphatic
DISTR	distributive
DL/dl	dual
DS	different subject
E	extended argument
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
FILL	(lexical) filler
FB	father's brother
FM	formative
FOC	focus
FRUST	frustrative
GEN	genitive
HORT	hortative
IMP	imperative
IMPFV	imperfective
INCOMP	incompletive
INT	interrogative
INTENS	intensifier
JUSS	jussive
LIG	ligature

LOC	locative
LOC.APPROX	locative approximative
LOC.GNL	general locative
MAN	manner
NEG	negative
NP	noun phrase
NPF	(dummy) noun prefix
NSG	non-singular
O	object
ONOM	onomatopoeia
PASS	passive
PERF	perfect
PERL	perlative
PERM	permanently
PL/pl	plural
POT	potential
PROP	proparalepsis
PROX	proximal
PURP.GNL	general purpose
PURP.MOT	purpose of motion
QUEST	question (marker)
REC.PAST	recent past
REDUP	reduplication
REF	reflexive
REITR	reiterative
REM.PAST	remote past
REP	reportative
RES	resultative
RESTR	restrictive
S	intransitive subject
SG	singular
SIMLR	similarity
SS	same subject
STRG.EMPH	strong emphasis
TEMP	temporarily
UNCERT	uncertain
1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person